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124 whom I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the canneries would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not [115] been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day apiece without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang 123 up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culmin- [597] ating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for 123 the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain 796 Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. 887 Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nusqalt*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [601] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned.

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable.

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
601 Mother's sister's husband.....	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife... or Sister's son's wife.....	Same as son's wife. " "	Same as son's wife, or *tci gmɛs di emɬs*, "Wife of my *emɬs*."
Brother's daughter's husband..... or Sister's daughter's husband.....	Same as daughter's husband. " " "	Same as daughter's husband, or *di kwɛmɬs di emɬs*, "Husband of my *emɬs*."

[597] In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (I, p. 616) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a parent sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola combines features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bilateralism, failure to

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

123 533 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches.

554 556* [622] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

[773]

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581 [858] Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

584 581 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint. 581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a 582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child [597] [829] [171] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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Ăłkɔ: ɬɬɔ̄mɣ village.

Ălkɔ-sɛ̆ɬ, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ălkɬmaxdut:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ălkuqulɔ̄mam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ălkusiyuatɛm: Name of a female shaman.

Ălkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuɔ̄x* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuiłc-tl* chief.

Ălłibalɛ̄xlaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Ălłibmɛ̄lɔsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Sɬɛ̄kiɛ̄l* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ălłimuɔ̄mam: Sɬɔ̄ɔ̄k* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *hai-ɬɛ̄kɬila*.

Ălłiɬpaios: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[533] *ălɬixɛ̄xɛm:* Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ălmɔ̄mɔ̄mɛ̄m: Wife of *Twalălit*, the supernatural hunter.

Ălmɔ̄ɬkitlmɛm: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ălmoqtaikila: Husband of *Ănɛ'liɬwɛlɔ̄aix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ălmutɔ̄mk: Kusiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *ălnaixwɔtɔ̄mɛm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

ălnaixwɔtɔ̄mmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] *ălnɛ̄xamlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

[583] *ălnɛ̄xɛm:* To drag a heavy burden.

[262] *ălnuxlaw-ɛ̄x:* Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

ălnuxxim: Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.

[821] *Ălɔ̄ɔ̄nsdimut*, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ălɔ̄liqɔ̄mmɣ, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ălɔ̄nkiokɛm:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ălpălɣɔ̄lɔslaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ălpɔ: Food.

[425] *ălpɔ̄xɔ̄mɛ*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ălqălɛ̄xl, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ălqɛ̄nɛ̄ɔ:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ălqɔ̄ɔ̄lk:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ălqɛ̄xɛ̄lɣɛ̄-a:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ălqɛ̄xɛ̄l'ɛ̄ɬɛ̄t, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Ălqălɛ̄xl* man in the beginning of time.